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Vol. XXV.

DECEMBER, 1849.

No. 12.

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All letters relating to the business of the American Colonization Society, as well as the African Repository, and all applications for the passage of Emigrants to Liberia, should be directed to the Rev. W. McLain, Washington City.

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A Lecture on African Colonization.

[Continued from page 350.]

The total increase of the free colored population of the United States, from 1830 to 1840, was 6,664, annually, making the number torn from Africa, in one year, more than twelve and a half times as great as the whole annual increase of the free colored population of the United States.

The total free colored population of Ohio, is, at present, about 30,000, and that of Indiana and Illinois 20,000. The other States will have but a small advance on their free colored population of 1840. The exports of slaves from Africa, in one year, are, therefore, nearly three times greater than the whole number of free colored people at present in Ohio; more than four times that of Indiana and Illinois; nearly four times that of the six New England States in 1840; nearly double that of Pennsylvania; thirteen thousand more than that of New York and New Jersey; four thousand more than Delaware and Maryland; nearly double that of Virginia; nearly seventeen thousand more than double that of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; nearly six times that of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama; and nearly four times that of Louisiana.

If, therefore, a set of desperadoes,

not so numerous but that they have eluded detection and capture, can, in one year, accomplish all that is here enumerated, what could not the united efforts of the legislatures of the several States accomplish, without oppressive taxation, were they simultaneously to commence the work of colonizing the free colored people?

Suppose each of the States in the foregoing list, were, as a preparatory measure, to appropriate to the Colonization Society, one dollar for each colored person in their bounds, the sum of \$375,528 would be raised, being about one half the whole sum expended by the Society since its origin. Now, there is scarcely one of the States named, which could not give an annual appropriation of the sum stated, without the tax being felt by its people.

The sum required by this scheme, to be expended by Ohio, would be only *one cent and a half* for each of the two millions of her present population. To pay the expenses of the transportation of her whole 30,000 free colored people, at \$50 each—the sum for which the Col. Society agrees to take out emigrants—would cost but *seventy-five cents* for each person. But suppose Ohio could prevent all

further immigration into the State, and would agree to send out *the natural increase only*, which, at two per cent. on 30,000, would be 600, the tax would be but *one cent and a half* to each citizen of the State.

Then, who will say that it will not be *practicable* to raise this sum in Ohio, on condition that six hundred persons of color, annually, would volunteer to emigrate? And which of the other States would decline entering into a measure of such easy accomplishment? We trust not one.

As it may amuse the curious, and furnish a rule to determine the quota of each State for paying the cost of emigration *of its natural increase*, we would here state, that one dollar per head, for the whole free colored population, is exactly fifty dollars a head for the natural increase, the ratio of increase being two per cent. One dollar a head, for each free colored person in a State, will therefore, transfer its natural increase to Africa, and put them in possession of a homestead upon which to make a living.

I shall not, here, refer to the probabilities of the free colored people being willing to accept the offered boon of a home in Liberia, but leave it to another branch of our subject.

V. The influence of Colonization upon the native Africans, and upon Missionary efforts in Africa.

On these points we shall study great brevity. The influence of colonization upon the native Africans has been, in all respects, beneficial. It is only necessary to state, that in purchasing the lands from the native kings and head men, and thus securing the right of sovereignty over the soil, the inhabitants are at once secured in the protection of the laws of the Liberian government, and in the enjoyment of its advantages. Those held in slavery, and

they constitute about eight-tenths of the population, are at once emancipated. The same care is taken in promoting their education that is observed in the instruction of emigrants from the United States. When sufficiently advanced in intelligence, they are admitted to the rights of citizenship. In this way, 75,000 of the natives have been emancipated from slavery, and secured in all the rights of freemen. By treaties with surrounding tribes, 200,000 more are bound not to engage in the slave trade, nor to go to war amongst themselves. These treaties secure to the respective tribes embraced, the protection of the Republic against all other hostile tribes. A breach of the conditions of these treaties, on the part of any tribe, forfeits the protection of the colony. Thus, for ten years past, the colony has preserved peace amongst many petty tribes whose trade formerly was war. Colonization, therefore, in many respects, has done great good to Africa. And, in addition to all this, we may add, that such is the favorable impression which our colonies are beginning to send abroad among the native tribes, that, recently, six kings have combined and annexed their territories, including one hundred miles of coast, to the Maryland colony. This statement we have met with, as coming from *Rev. Mr. Pinney*, for a time the governor of Liberia. The motive prompting these kings to annex, is, that they may enjoy the protection of the colony.

The History of Missionary efforts in Western Africa, fully sustains the truthfulness of the pictures which have been drawn of the fatality of the climate to the white man, and of the dreadful moral darkness which overspreads the land.*

Catholic missionaries labored for

*We have drawn our facts mostly from Mr. Tracy's history of Colonization and Missions.

two hundred and forty-one years, but every vestige of their influence has been gone for many generations. The Moravians, beginning in 1736, toiled for thirty-four years, making five attempts, at a cost of eleven lives, and effected nothing. An English attempt, at Bulama Island, in 1792, partly missionary in its character, was abandoned in two years, with a loss of one hundred lives. A mission sent to the Foulahs, from England, in 1795, returned without commencing its labors. The London, Edinburgh and Glasgow society, commenced three stations in 1797, which were extinct in three years, and five of the six missionaries dead. The Church missionary society sent out its first missionaries in 1804, but it was four years before they could find a place out of the colony of Sierra Leone, where they could commence their labors. They established and attempted to maintain ten stations. But the hostility of the natives, who preferred the slave traders to them, drove the missionaries from nine of them, and forced them to take refuge in Sierra Leone, the only place where they could labor with safety and with hope. The tenth station at Goree, was also abandoned and given up to the French.

"Here, then, without counting Sierra Leone and Goree, are eighteen Protestant missionary attempts, before the settlement of Liberia, all of which failed from the influence of climate, and the hostility of the natives, generated by the opposition of the slave traders. And, since the settlement of Liberia, until 1845, when these investigations were completed, all attempts to sustain missions beyond the influence of the Colony have also failed.

"But while we mourn over these failures in attempts to do good to Africa, it is a source of the most

profound gratitude to have the facts placed authentically before the world that every attempt at colonizing Africa with colored persons, and every missionary effort connected with the Colonies, either of England or America, have been successful."

These facts prove, conclusively, that while other lands may be approached and blessed by other methods, the only hope for Africa appears to be in Colonization by persons of color. This is the only star of promise which kindles its light on her dark horizon. It is the only apparent means of her salvation.

"After the presentation of such an array of facts, extending over a period of *four centuries*, may we not claim that the question is decided—that the facts of the case preclude all possibility of reasonable doubt—that the combined action of Colonization and missions is proved to be an effectual means, and is the only known means, of converting and civilizing Africa."

And who that believes this will not give heart and hand to the work, and labor, through good report and through ill, for the concentration of all the talent and piety, belonging to the colored people, upon that coast? Who that truly desires the redemption of the African race from their degradation of accumulated centuries, but would rejoice to see hundreds and thousands, and tens of thousands, of the virtuous and intelligent of our colored population, like so many angels of mercy, flocking to Africa, and employed in that labor of love which must be performed before Ethiopia can stretch out her hands to God?

After what has been said, in relation to the low state of morals amongst the slaves, and the new accessions of colored emigrants which we are likely to receive from

the slave States, it is proper, in this place, that we should present some explanation. Our observations, it will be noticed, were based upon the representations made by our northern friends on the degrading and brutifying tendencies of slavery, and were offered, partly, as a retort upon them for wishing to overstock us with such a population as they must necessarily believe will emanate from the midst of slavery, while they themselves scarcely touch the burthen with the tip of the finger. Our views, however, differ materially from theirs, in relation to the moral condition of the slaves.

While we believe that slavery, like despotism in any other form, in itself considered, contains no one principle which tends to elevate and improve the intellect and the heart, yet we know that there are accidents connected with it, in this country, as there have been with despotism in Europe, which afford to its victims the means of improvement. We believe that the Providence of God never places men, towards whom he has designs of mercy, in circumstances where the gospel of Christ is not adapted to their condition. That Gospel, we know, has spoken peace to thousands of poor slaves, and whispered to their desponding hearts the hope of freedom in heaven. It is undeniable, that an immense degree of intellectual and moral advancement, beyond that of the native of Africa, has been made by the slaves of the United States, under all the disadvantages to which they have been subjected. It is true, that thousands of masters are laboring with much success for the moral and religious improvement of their slaves. It is well known, that the moral character and religious principle of many a slave will compare with and excel that of many of the whites,

even in the north. It is certain, that the voluntary emancipations which occur, are by this class of masters and from this class of slaves. And it is a fact, that the greater number of the newly emancipated slaves, who come to the free States, have more or less acquaintance with their social, moral, and religious duties, and are more or less disposed to make further efforts for their own advancement. And knowing and believing all this, we are prepared to take them by the hand and to encourage them to the full extent of the numbers that we are able to receive. We are also prepared to co-operate with, and do aid them, in their efforts at education. In the village in which your speaker resides, a Presbytery of the church with which he is connected, pays, regularly, from a donation by a deceased member, the half of the salary of a teacher for a colored school. From observation there, and elsewhere, we have learned that though but a small portion of the parents have a right appreciation of the importance of education and of the arduousness of the task of acquiring knowledge, yet, upon the whole, they manifest fully as much interest in the work as the same number of whites would do, who possess no higher a standard of intellectual attainment.

Were it in our power, therefore, to increase the facilities for their education a thousand fold, we would do it at once. Because we feel it to be an imperative duty resting on the white men of the United States, allowing of no halfway measures or efforts, to labor for the redemption of Africa, and to repair the wrongs that have been done her.

But to execute this task we must call to our aid men of African blood. We should have one teacher or missionary for every 1000 inhabitants. To supply the whole eighty

millions of people of color in Africa, with teachers and missionaries, will, therefore, require an educated army of 80,000 colored men, who must be supplied from the United States and from Liberia. While, then, we struggle to elevate and improve the colored man in the United States, we point him to Africa as the field of usefulness in which we wish to see him labor.

VI. The certainty of success of the Colonization scheme, and of the perpetuity of the Republic of Liberia.

In the facts which have been already presented, in the course of our investigations, many reasons will be found to encourage our hopes that the colonization scheme must continue to prosper, and that the experiment of an African Republic must succeed. We shall now proceed to offer additional facts and considerations of much more weight and importance on this point, than any which we have, yet, produced. The first and more important is based upon *the commercial advantages*, in Africa, which Liberia is beginning to unfold to civilized nations. But as time will not allow us to enter upon an extended investigation of the peculiar advantages which each nation will derive from the civilization of Africa, we shall confine ourselves to those of England, because she is more vitally interested in the success of Liberia than all the others. When the facts in her case are known, it will be easy to make the application to other nations. It will be seen, in the course of these investigations, that it is of the utmost importance to England to aid the Republic of Liberia in extending its influence with all possible rapidity over the continent of Africa. The reasons upon which we base this opinion are briefly as follows:

Next to the necessity under which

the government of Great Britain is laid to create new markets for her manufactures, comes the vast importance which she attaches to having the control of *tropical possessions and tropical productions*. Their importance to her heretofore, in contributing to give her the ascendancy which she acquired amongst nations, was thus strongly stated by McQUEEN, in 1844, when this highly intelligent Englishman was urging upon his government the great necessity which existed for securing to itself the control of *the labor and the products of tropical Africa*.

"During the fearful struggle of a quarter of a century, for her existence as a nation, against the power and resources of Europe, directed by the most intelligent but remorseless military ambition against her, *the command of the productions of the torrid zone*, and the advantageous commerce which that afforded, gave to Great Britain the power and the resources which enabled her to meet, to combat, and to overcome, her numerous and reckless enemies in every battle-field, whether by sea or by land, throughout the world. In her the world saw realized the fabled giant of antiquity. With her hundred hands she grasped her foes in every region under heaven, and crushed them with resistless energy."

If the possession and control of tropical products gave to England such immense resources, and secured to her such superiority and such power, then, to be deprived of these resources would of course exert a corresponding opposite effect, and she would not yield them to another but in a death-struggle for their maintainance. Now, we expect to prove that this struggle has commenced and progressed to a point of the utmost interest, both to England and to the cause of humanity; and that the present mo-

ment finds Great Britain in a position so disadvantageous, arising from the progress of other nations in tropical cultivation, that one principal means of her extrication is in the success of Liberia.

Mr. McQueen, in proceeding further with his investigations, reveals to us the true position of England by the following startling announcement:

"The increased cultivation and prosperity of foreign tropical possessions is become so great, and is advancing so rapidly the power and

resources of *other nations*, that these are embarrassing this country (England) in all her commercial relations, in her pecuniary resources, and in all her political relations and negotiations."

The peculiar force of these remarks, and the cause for alarm which existed, will be better understood by an examination of the figures in the following table. They contrast the condition of Great Britain as compared with only a few other countries, in the production of *three articles, alone, of tropical produce.*

SUGAR—1842.			
British possessions.		Foreign countries.	
West Indies,	cwts. 2,508,552	Cuba,	cwts. 5,800,000
East Indies,	" 940,452	Brazil,	" 2,400,000
Mauritius, (1841)	" 544,767	Java,	" 1,105,757
		Louisiana,	" 1,400,000
Total	3,993,771	Total	10,705,757
COFFEE—1842.			
West Indies,	lbs. 9,186,555	Java,	lbs. 134,842,715
East Indies,	" 18,206,448	Brazils,	" 135,000,800
		Cuba,	" 33,589,325
Total	27,393,003	Venezuela,	" 34,000,000
		Total	337,432,840
COTTON—1840.			
West Indies,	lbs. 427,529	United States,	lbs. 790,479,275
East Indies,	" 77,015,917	Java,	" 165,504,800
To China, from do.	" 60,000,000	Brazil,	" 25,222,828
Total	137,443,446	Total	981,206,903

But that this exhibit may convey its full force to the mind, it must be observed, that nearly three-fourths of this *slave-grown produce*, has been created, says McQueen, within thirty years preceding the date of his writing, (1844.)

It will be noticed, also, that the whole of these products, with the exception of those of Java and Venezuela, are the produce of slave labor; and it must be remembered, also, that the perpetuation and in-

crease of this labor is, in a great degree, except in Louisiana, *depending upon the slave trade for its continuance.* It is easy, then, to perceive, from the foregoing facts, that the slave trade has been very sensibly and very seriously affecting the interests of the British government—that it has been an engine in the hands of other nations, by which they have thrown England into the back ground in the production of those articles of which she formerly

had the monopoly, and which had given to her such power—and *that Great Britain must either crush the slave trade, or it will continue to paralyze her.*

Here is the true secret of her movements in reference to the slave trade and slavery. Public sentiment, *under the control of Christian principle*, compelled her in 1806, to a first step in this great work of philanthropy; and this step, once taken, there could be no retreat. But this first step, *the abolition of the slave trade in her colonies*, gave to Spain and Portugal all the advantages of that traffic, and the cheaper and more abundant labor, thus secured, gave a powerful stimulus to the production of tropical commodities in their colonies of Cuba and Brazil, and soon enabled them to rival, and greatly surpass England, in the amount of her exports of these articles.

But the investigations which had led to the knowledge of the enormities of the slave trade, necessarily exhibited the evils of slavery itself. Public opinion decreed the annihilation of both, and the British government had no other alternative but to comply. The means to which she resorted for the suppression of the slave trade, and their failure hitherto, have been already noticed. The measures adopted for the emancipation of her West India slaves, have resulted still more unfavorably to her interests than those for the extinction of the slave trade.

It was considered absolutely necessary to the prosperity of England, that she should regain the advantageous position which she had occupied in being the chief producer of tropical commodities. But to effect this, it was necessary that she should be able to double the exports from her own Islands, and greatly diminish those of her rivals. This

could be accomplished, only, by an increase of laborers from abroad, or by stimulating those on the Islands to double activity in their work. An increase of laborers from abroad could only be secured by a resort to the slave trade, which was impossible; or to voluntary emigration from other countries to the Islands, which was improbable. The only remaining alternative was to render the labor already in the Islands more productive. This could not be done by the *whip*, as it had already expended its force, and could not afford the relief demanded. This position of affairs made the government willing to listen to the appeals of the friends of West India emancipation. They had long argued that free labor was *cheaper* than slave labor—that *one freeman, under the stimulus of wages, would do twice the work of a slave compelled to industry by the whip*—that the government, by immediate emancipation, could demonstrate the truth of this proposition, and thus furnish a powerful argument against slavery—that the world should be convinced that the employment of slave labor is a great *economic error*—and that this truth, once believed, the abolition of slavery would every where take place, and the demand for slaves being thus destroyed, the slave trade must cease. Parliament, yielding to these arguments, passed her West India Emancipation Act, 1833, with certain restrictions, by which the liberated slaves were to be held by their old masters as apprentices, partly until Aug. 1, 1838, and partly until Aug. 1, 1840. This apprenticeship system, however, being productive of greater cruelties than even slavery, the legislative councils of the Islands, coerced by public sentiment in England, were forced to precipitate the final emancipation of the slaves, and on Aug. 1, 1838, they were declared

free. This act at once brought on the crisis in the experiment. The results are stated in the following

official table, taken from the Westminster Review, 1844:

Sugar exported from	Average of 1831-2-3. 3 years of Slavery.	Average of 1835-6-7. 3 years of Apprent'ship.	Average of 1839-40-41. 3 years of Freedom.
St. Vincent, - - -	23,400,000 lbs.	22,500,000 lbs.	14,100,000 lbs.
Trinidad, - - -	18,923 tons	18,255 tons	14,828 tons
Jamaica, - - -	86,080 hhd.	62,960 hhd.	34,415 hhd.
Total West Indies, -	3,841.153 cwt.	3,477,592 cwt.	2,396,784 cwt.

This immense and unexpected reduction of West India products under the system of freedom, was cause of great alarm. The experiment which was to prove the superiority of *free labor* over that of *slave labor* had failed. The hope of *doubling the exports* by that means was blasted. \$500,000,000* of British capital, invested in the Islands, says McQueen, was on the brink of destruction for want of laborers to make it available. The English government found her commerce greatly lessened, and her home supply of tropical products falling below the actual wants of her own people. This diminution rendered her unable to furnish any surplus for the markets of those of her colonies and other countries which she formerly supplied. These results *at once extended the market for slave grown products, and gave a new impulse to the slave trade.*

"The government and its advisers now found themselves in the mortifying position of having blundered miserably in their emancipation scheme, and of having landed themselves in a dilemma of singular perplexity. Had England induced, or compelled Portugal, Spain, and Brazil—the latter then no longer a colony but an independent nation—to fulfill the conditions of the treaty declaring the slave trade piracy, and also to abolish slavery, she might have succeeded in her object. But

she did not wait the accomplishment of this work before she declared the freedom of her own slaves. This act resulted so favorably to the interests of those countries employing slave labor, by enlarging the markets for slave grown products, that the difficulty of inducing them to cease from it, was increased a hundred fold. Nor did the expedients to which she resorted prove successful in extricating her from the difficulties in which she was involved. A duty of near 39 shillings, afterwards raised to 41 shillings the cwt., or 4½ pence the pound, levied on *slave grown sugar*—designed to prohibit its importation into England and secure the monopoly to the West India planter, thereby enabling him to pay higher wages for labor—while it failed to stimulate the activities of the freedmen sufficiently to increase the exports to their former amount—resulted only in taxing the English people, by the increase of prices consequent upon a diminution of the supply, in a single year, says Porter in his *Progress of Nations*, to the enormous amount of \$25,000,000 more than the inhabitants of other countries paid for the same quantity of sugar. This enormous tax accrued during 1840, from the protective duty, but was greatly above that of any other year during its continuance. The whole amount of the bounty to the planter, thus drawn from the pockets of the English peo-

* We reckon the pound sterling, here and elsewhere, for convenience, at five dollars.

ple and placed in those of the West India negro laborers in excessive high wages, in the course of six or seven years, says McQueen, 1844, amounted to \$50,000,000.

The crisis had become so imminent, that energetic measures were immediately adopted to guard against the impending danger. England must either regain her advantages in tropical countries and tropical products, or she must be shorn of a part of her power and greatness. This truth was so fully impressed upon the minds of her intelligent statesmen, that one of the best informed on this subject, (McQueen,) declared, that,

"If the foreign slave trade be not extinguished, and the cultivation of the tropical territories of other powers *opposed and checked by British tropical cultivation*, then the interests and the power of such states will rise into a preponderance over those of Great Britain; and the power and the influence of the latter will cease to be felt, feared and respected, amongst the civilized and powerful nations of the world."

To relieve the English people from the onerous tax of the sugar duties, and at the same time, in obedience to the dictates of public opinion, to continue the exclusion of *slave grown products* from the English markets, sugar, the product of *free labor*, it was decided, should be admitted at a duty of 10 shillings the cwt. But it was soon discerned, that this policy would only create a circuitous commerce, by which the slave grown sugar of Cuba and Brazil would be taken by Holland and Spain, for their own consumption, and that of Java and Manilla sent to England; thus creating a more extensive demand for slave grown products and consequently for slave labor, and giving to the *slave trade an additional impulse in an increased demand for slaves*.

The necessity for this continuous supply of slave laborers from Africa, for the planters of Cuba and Brazil, will be better understood, when the nature of West India and Brazilian slavery is made known. When England prohibited the slave trade in 1806, the number of slaves in her colonies was 800,000. In twenty-three years afterwards, or near the time she emancipated them, they numbered but 700,000. The *decrease* in this period was, therefore, 100,000; (Memoirs of Buxton.)

The United States in 1800, had a slave population of 893,000. In 1830 she numbered 2,009,000, being an increase of 1,116,000. Thus, in thirty years, the United States had an increase of *one million one hundred and sixteen thousand* on a population of 893,000; while the West Indies, under the English system of slavery, with a slave population nearly equal to that of the United States, in a period only six years less, *suffered an actual decrease of one hundred thousand*.

The destruction of human life in the slavery of Cuba and Brazil will, doubtless, be equal to what it was formerly in the West Indies, inasmuch as the same causes prevail—the great disparity of the sexes amongst those brought by slave traders, from Africa, for the planters. In the slave population of Cuba this disproportion, says McQueen, is 150,000 females to 275,000 males. It is estimated, that to keep up the slave population of Cuba and Brazil, will require, yearly, 130,000 people from Africa. It is, then, at once apparent, that Cuba and Brazil are *dependent*, as we have said, *upon the slave trade for keeping up the supply of their laborers*; and, that, if this annual importation of slaves should be stopped, then, their foreign exports would be proportionally lessened and their growing prosperity checked.

Under these circumstances, there could be no doubt, that if England could suppress the slave trade, she would at once cut off the supply of laborers furnished by that traffic to Cuba and Brazil, and "*check*" their ability to rival her as producers of tropical commodities; and, further, if she could increase the number of laborers in the West Indies sufficiently, she could restore those Islands to their former productiveness, and recover her former advantages. She, therefore, renewed her efforts for the suppression of the slave trade, with greatly increased activity. She also commenced the transfer of *free laborers* from the East Indies and from Africa to the West Indies. Every slave trading vessel captured, was made to yield up its burden of human beings to the West India planters, instead of to those of Cuba and Brazil; thus securing to the former all the advantages of laborers which had been designed for the latter. This arrangement was adopted in 1842, and the only exception to it was in relation to Spanish slavers, which were to be given up, with their cargoes of slaves, to the authorities of Cuba. A premium was paid to her naval officers and seamen for all the slaves thus captured and transported to her West India Colonies. The expenditure for this object, in 1844, says McQueen, had amounted to \$4,700,000.

In this movement an intelligent colored man, Mr. WILLIAM BROWN, of Oxford, Ohio, has remarked, that England seems to have copied the example of the eagle, which disdains to soil his own plumage by a plunge in the water, but, as he must have the fish or die, makes no scruple of robbing the more daring fish-hawk of its prey and appropriating the captive fish to his own use, instead of restoring it to its native element.

All these efforts, however, failed

in relieving England from her difficulties. The slave trade continued to increase, and the slave grown productions to multiply. The number of *free laborers* transported as *emigrants* from Africa and the East Indies, or captured from the slave traders, and landed in the Islands, were so few, comparatively, as to make no sensible difference in the amount of West India productions, and the scheme, though still continued, has failed of its main object—the increase of *British West India productions*. Some other means of replacing England in her former position, must, therefore, be devised.

But let us look a moment, before we proceed, at the West Indies, and learn more fully, the extent and nature of the influences which have gone forth upon the world as the result of West India Emancipation and British policy and philanthropy.

It seems to have been a great error of judgment in the British philanthropists, who urged West India Emancipation upon the ground that *free labor would be more productive than slave labor*,—that a freeman, under the stimulus of *wages*, would do twice the labor of a slave toiling beneath the *lash*: because this proposition is true only in reference to men of *intelligence and forethought*, but is untrue when applied to an ignorant and degraded class of men. The ox under the yoke, or the mule in the harness, when spurred on by the goad or the whip, will do more labor than when turned out to shift for themselves. So it will be with any barbarous people, or with the mass of such a slave population as the West Indies then included; where but little more care had been taken of the greater portion of them than if they had been mere brute beasts, and not moral agents. If any higher estimate had been put upon them, than as mere *machines*

to be used in the production of tropical commodities, then it had been impossible for their numbers to have been reduced one hundred thousand in so short a period as before stated.

The first impulse of the heart of the more intelligent slaves, when they awoke to a consciousness of freedom, would prompt them to withdraw their wives, daughters, and younger children, from the sugar plantations, that the mothers might attend to their household duties, and the children be sent to school. This would deprive the planters of much of the labor upon which they had depended. The men, too, would many of them prefer mechanical pursuits, or confine themselves to the cultivation of small portions of land, and decline laboring for their old masters, in whose presence they must still have felt a sense of inferiority. Many, from sheer indolence and recklessness of consequences, would only labor when necessity compelled them to seek a supply of their wants. The marriages taking place would withdraw still more of the laborers from the fields, and reduce the amount of the products of the Islands.

While, therefore, the ease, comfort, and welfare, of the colored man was secured, the interests of the planters were almost ruined by emancipation, and the influence and power of England put in jeopardy. Little did the 700,000 West India freedmen, who refused to labor regularly for the planters, think, when following their own inclinations, or lounging at their ease under the shade trees of these sunny Islands, that their want of industry, their reluctance to go back to the sugar mills, for the wages offered, was crippling the power of one of the greatest empires on earth, and robbing Africa of 400,000 of her children, annually, to supply to the world,

from Cuba and Brazil, those very commodities which they were refusing to produce. Yet such was the fact, and such the mysterious links connecting man with his fellow, that the want of ambition in the West India freedmen to earn more than a subsistence, depriving the planters of the necessary free labor to keep up the usual amount of exports, created a corresponding demand for slave grown products, and robbed Africa, in each two years thereafter, of a number of men *more than equal to the whole of the slaves emancipated in the British Islands.*

There would seem, then, to have been but little gain to the cause of humanity by West India Emancipation. *This view of its results, however, would be very erroneous.* On the contrary, there is exhibited here, in this result, another mysterious link in the chain of events connected with the redemption of Africa. The failure of the West India experiment, *has been a failure, only, of England's experiment adopted to restore herself to her former position and her former advantages,* and will not retard the onward progress of the cause of humanity. It has, on the contrary, no doubt greatly tended to precipitate upon the world the solution of a problem of the first importance in the great work of its recovery from barbarism. It must now be admitted *that mere personal liberty, even connected with the stimulus of high wages,* is insufficient to secure the industry of an ignorant population. It is Intelligence, alone, that can be acted upon by such motives. *Intelligence must precede voluntary Industry.* This proposition, we claim, has been fairly proved in the West India experiment. And, hereafter, that man or nation, may find it difficult to command respect or succeed in being esteemed wise, who will not, along with exertions

to extend personal freedom to men, intimately blend with their efforts adequate means for intellectual and moral improvement. The West India colored population, now released from the restraints of slavery, and accessible to the missionaries and teachers, sent to them from English Christians, are rising in intelligence and respectability; and, thus, West India emancipation has been productive of infinite advantage to them, though English capitalists may have been ruined by the act. But we will go further, and give it as our deliberate opinion, that as soon as intelligence and morality, growing out of the religious training now enjoyed, shall sufficiently prevail, the amount of products raised in the West Indies will greatly exceed that yielded under the system of slavery. Liberty and Religion can make its inhabitants as prosperous and happy as those of any other spot on earth. We do not say, however, that this can take place while they sustain the position of vassals of the British crown, and their importance in the scale of being continues to be estimated according to the extent to which they can add to its prosperity and its glory.

Had the West India colored men, under the stimulus of freedom and high wages each performed twice the labor of a slave, as they, no doubt, might have done, and as was confidently anticipated by the enthusiastic friends of emancipation, more than twice the products of former years would have been exported from the Islands, and England, in that event, restored to her former position, and looking only to self aggrandizement, would have remained content, and continued to employ men as mere *machines*, as she heretofore had done, nor cared for their intellectual and moral elevation. But the failure of England in the

West Indies, forced her to renewed efforts *for the acquisition of additional tropical possessions*, where, with better prospects of success, she could bring free labor into competition with slave labor.

Before tracing the movements of Great Britain, however, in her prosecution of this enterprise, let us again look a moment at her position. "Instead of supplying her own wants with tropical productions, and next nearly all Europe, as she formerly did, she had scarcely enough, says McQueen, 1844, of some of the most important articles, for her own consumption, while her colonies were mostly supplied with foreign slave produce." "In the mean time tropical productions had been increased from \$75,000,000 to \$300,000,000 annually. The English capital invested in tropical productions in the East and West Indies, had been, by emancipation in the latter, reduced from \$750,000,000 to \$650,000,000; while, since 1808, on the part of foreign nations \$4,000,000,000 of fixed capital had been created in slaves and in cultivation wholly dependent upon the labor of slaves." "The odds, therefore, in agricultural and commercial capital and interest, and consequently in political power and influence, arrayed against the British tropical possessions, were very fearful—SIX TO ONE."

This, then, was the position of England from 1840 to 1844, and these the forces marshalled against her, and which she must meet and combat. In all her movements hitherto, she had only added to the strength of her rivals. Her first step, the suppression of the slave trade, had diminished her West India laborers 100,000 in twenty-three years, and reduced her means of production to that extent, giving all the benefits, arising from this and

from the slave trade, to rival nations, who have but too well improved their advantages. But besides her commercial sacrifices, she had expended \$100,000,000 to remunerate the planters for the slaves emancipated and another \$100,000,000 for an armed repression of the slave trade. And yet, in all this enormous expenditure, resulting only in loss to England, Africa had received no advantage whatever, but on the contrary, she had been robbed, since 1808, of at least 3,500,000 slaves, (McQueen) who had been exported to Cuba and Brazil from her coast, making a total loss to Africa, by the rule of Buxton, of 11,666,000 human beings, or one million more than the whole white population of the United States in 1830, and more than three times the number of our present slave population.

Now, it was abundantly evident, that Great Britain was impelled by an overpowering necessity, by the instinct of *self-preservation*, to attempt the suppression of the slave trade. It was true, no doubt, that considerations of justice and humanity were among the motives which influenced her actions. Interest and duty were, therefore, combined to stimulate her to exertion. The measures to be adopted to secure success, were also becoming more apparent. Few other nations are guided by statesmen more quick to perceive the best course to adopt in an emergency, and none more readily abandon a scheme as soon as it proves impracticable. Great Britain stood pledged to her own citizens and to the world for the suppression of the slave trade. She stood equally pledged to demonstrate, that free labor can be made more productive than slave labor, even in the cultivation of tropical commodities. These pledges she could not deviate from

nor revoke. Her interests as well as her honor were deeply involved in their fulfilment. But she could only demonstrate the greater productiveness of free labor over slave labor, by opposing the one to the other, in their practical operations on a scale co-extensive with each other. She must produce tropical commodities so cheaply and so abundantly, by free labor, that she could undersell slave-grown products to such an extent, and glut the markets of the world with them so fully, as to render it unprofitable any longer to employ slaves in tropical cultivation. Such an enterprise, successfully carried out, would be a death blow to slavery and the slave trade. "But," says McQueen, "there remained no portion of the tropical world, where labor could be had on the spot, and whereon Great Britain could conveniently and safely plant her foot, in order to accomplish this desirable object—extensive tropical cultivation—but in tropical Africa. Every other part was occupied by independent nations, or by people that might and would soon become independent." Africa, therefore, was the field upon which Great Britain was *compelled* to enter and to make her second grand experiment. Her citizens were becoming convinced that it was unwise, if not unjust, to abstract laborers, even as free emigrants, from Africa, to be employed in other parts of the world, *when their labor might be employed to much better advantage in Africa itself.* The government could, therefore, safely resort to some modifications of her former policy. To confine her efforts for the recovery of her prosperity, *within the limits of her own tropical possessions, would be to abandon the vast regions of tropical Africa to other nations, and thus permit them, by taking possession of it, to redouble the advantages*

over her which they already possessed. By employing the labor of Africa *within* Africa, she would cut off the supply of laborers derived by other nations from the slave trade, and would have an advantage over them, not only of the capital expended in the transportation of slaves *from* Africa, but she would have a gain of *seven-tenths* in the saving of human life now destroyed by the slave trade. British capital, instead of being *directly* and *indirectly* employed in the slave trade, as has been abundantly shown by the Hon. Mr. Wise, late American minister to Brazil, could be more honorably and safely invested in the cultivation of the richer fields of tropical Africa.

In her West India experiment, however, England had been taught the all-important lesson, *that intelligence must precede voluntary industry*. Her Niger expedition of 1842, already noticed, was based upon this principle, and hence the extensive preparations connected with that movement, for the improvement of the intelligence and morals and industry of the natives. But the terrible mortality which destroyed that enterprise taught her another lesson, *that white men cannot fulfil the agency of Africa's intellectual elevation*. Since that period, England has been mostly occupied with the settlement of her difficulties with China, and her war with the Sikhs of India, and she has made but little progress in her African affairs; excepting by explorations into the interior and negotiations with the powers interested in the slave trade.

In the meantime the colony of Liberia had been pursuing its quiet and unostentatious course, and working out the problem of the colored man's capability for self-government. The active industry of that handful of men, had created a

commerce of much importance, and supplied exports to the value of \$100,000 annually. Its declaration of independence was published to the world at a period the most auspicious. France, under those generous impulses so characteristic of her people, had herself trampled the last relics of despotism in the dust, and declared the Republic. Great as she herself is, she did not despise the little African Republic, but, extending her view down the stream of time, discerned in it the germ of future empire and greatness, and therefore, she welcomed it into the family of nations. But lest, in its feebleness, it should receive a wound to its honor, or an injury to its commerce, from an attack of the dealers in human flesh infesting its borders, with distinguished liberality she offered the use of her war vessels for their destruction.

England, too, found herself in a position inclining her to favor the young republic; nay, not only *inclining* but imposing upon her *the necessity* of promoting its welfare. Impelled by her own interests and wants, to secure extensive tropical cultivation, by free labor, *in Africa*, she had been surveying the whole vast field of that continent, the only country now remaining where her grand experiment could be commenced, and found much of it already occupied. France, fully alive to the importance of the commerce with Africa, had, within a short period, securely placed herself at the mouth of the Senegal and at Goree, extending her influence eastward and southeastward from both places. She had a settlement at Albreda, on the Gambia, a short distance above St. Mary's, and which commands that river. She had formed a settlement at the mouth of the Gaboon, and another near the chief mouth of the Niger. She had fixed

herself at Massuah and Bure, on the west shore of the Red Sea, commanding the inlets into Abyssinia. She had endeavored to fix her flag at Brava and the mouth of the Jub, and had taken permanent possession of the important Island of Johanna, situated in the center of the northern outlet of the Mozambique channel, by which she acquired its command. Her active Agents were placed in southern Abyssinia, and employed in traversing the borders of the Great White Nile; while Algiers on the northern shores of Africa, must speedily be her own. Spain had planted herself, since the Niger expedition, in the island of Fernando Po, which commands all the outlets of the Niger and the rivers, from Cameroons to the Equator. Portugal witnessing these movements, had taken measures to revive her once fine and still important colonies in tropical Africa. They included 17° of latitude on the east coast, from the Tropic of Capricorn to Zanzibar, and nearly 19° on the west coast, from the 20^{th} south latitude, northward to Cape Lopez. The Imaum of Muscat claimed the sovereignty on the east coast, from Zanzibar to Babelmandel, with the exception of the station of the French at Brava. From the Senegal northward to Algeria was in the possession of the independent Moorish princes. Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt, were north of the Tropic of Cancer, and independent tributaries of Turkey.

Here, then, all the eastern and northern coasts of Africa, and also the west coast from the Gambia northwards, was found to be in the actual possession of independent sovereignties, who, of course, would not yield the right to England. Southern Africa, below the Tropic of Capricorn, already belonging to England, though only the same

distance south of the Equator that Cuba and Florida are north of it, is highly elevated above the sea-level, and not adapted to tropical productions. The claims of Portugal on the west coast, before noticed, extending from near the British south African line to Cape Lopez, excluded England from that district. From Cape Lopez to the mouth of the Niger, including the Gaboon and Fernando Po, as before stated, was under the control of the French and Spanish.

The only territory, therefore, not claimed by civilized countries, which could be made available to England for her great scheme of tropical cultivation, was that between the Niger and Liberia embracing nearly fourteen degrees of longitude. But this territory includes the powerful kingdom of Dahomey and that of Ashantee, whose right to the sovereignty of the soil could not, probably, be purchased, as was that of the former petty kings on the line of coast occupied by Liberia. Their territory, however, and that of Liberia, together with the whole of the vast basin of the Niger, under the hand of industry could be made to teem with those productions, the command of which were of such essential importance to England. But both Dahomey and Ashantee were engaged in the slave trade, and, like other parts of the continent, nine-tenths of the population held as slaves—(Dr. GOHEEN.) This territory, therefore, could not be made available to England until she could succeed in securing the discontinuance of their connection with the slave trade and the abolition of their system of slavery; and not even then, as we have before proved, until *intelligence* should be introduced and diffused and *industry* begotten—a work of generations. But negotiations in relation to these ob-

jects had been commenced, says McQueen, in 1844, under favorable auspices, and the king of Dahomey had agreed to abolish the slave trade, and had favorably received some Wesleyan missionaries. England has, since that period, successfully exerted her influence in other quarters for its suppression. In the British House of Commons, lately, Lord Palmerston announced, that the Bey of Tunis had abandoned within his dominions, not merely the slave trade but slavery itself—that the Sultan of Turkey had prohibited the slave trade among his subjects in the eastern seas—that the Imaum of Muscat had abolished it within certain latitudes—that the Arabian Chiefs in the Persian Gulf have also abandoned it—and that the Shah of Persia has prohibited it throughout his dominions. Thus, then, though the system of an *armed repression* of the slave trade has entirely failed, as before shown, yet the hope is springing up that it may soon be so circumscribed that its extermination can be more easily effected by encircling the remaining parts of the coast with Christian colonies.

But all these movements, important as they are to the cause of humanity, do not, in the least, check the slave trade with Cuba and Brazil, and the reason seems to be this: the slave trade is not a business by itself, and the slave traders are not a distinct class of men. The trade is so mixed up with the general business of the world, that it can derive facilities from the most innocent commercial transactions. In Brazil it is neither unlawful or disreputable, and, it is said that nobody abstains from it, or from dealing with those concerned in it, from any fear of law, scruples of conscience, or regard of character; and that to trade with Brazil at all is to

trade with a slave trader, or with some one who deals freely with slave traders. Hence, English capitalists in loaning money in Brazil, or English manufacturers in filling orders for goods from Brazil, are furnishing facilities for the slave traders to prosecute their infamous pursuits. The ship-builders of the United States, in selling fast-sailing merchant vessels to Brazilians, are furnishing to slave traders the means for transporting slaves from Africa. Thus British capital and industry and American skill, though, to the superficial observer, employed in a lawful way, are indirectly furnishing the means for the prosecution of the slave trade, and affording facilities to those engaged directly in it, which, if withdrawn, would greatly embarrass their operations, and make it much less difficult to suppress it. Nor has the success of England, in securing the above named acts for the suppression of the slave trade, accomplished anything in her great work of *extensive tropical free labor cultivation in Africa*, as the means upon which she relies to recover her former position, and to break down the prosperity of her rivals.

In Sierra Leone, the commercial affairs being in the hands of white men, has prevented that advancement in industry, and in the knowledge of business among the colored population, which must exist before habits of active industry will be adopted by them. But in Liberia all the business is in the hands of colored men, and some of them have accumulated fortunes. Their success has encouraged others to follow their example, and industry is beginning to prevail. The great work of *tropical cultivation by free labor* has been successfully commenced by the *Freemen of Liberia*. Tropical products have been exported in small quantities, from the

colony to England. Its coffee was found to be superior to that of all other countries, except Mocha, and about equal to it. The coffee tree, in Liberia, produces double the quantity, annually, which that of the West Indies bears. Its cotton, a native of its forests, is of a superior quality. Its capacity for producing sugar has been tested, and found equal to any other country. *Capital and labor* only are required to make Liberia more than rival Louisiana, *because frosts never touch its crops*, and laborers will not be thrown idle in the former, from that cause, as they are in the latter. Such is the nature of the soil and climate of Liberia, and such the easy cultivation of the products used for food, that the labor of a man, one third of his time, will supply him with necessary subsistence, leaving him the remaining two-thirds for mental improvement and to cultivate articles for export. An industrious man in Liberia must, therefore, become rich, and able to indulge his taste for the elegancies of life, leading him to the purchase of foreign commodities. Liberia, therefore, offered to England a field in which she could at once commence her experiment. All that is needed in Liberia to develop its resources, and to give it the ascendancy over all other portions of the tropical world, is *capital and labor*. The first can be abundantly supplied by England; the second by the United States and Africa. But African labor, beyond the limits of the colony where intelligence prevails, cannot be made productive until the education of the natives has been undertaken. This work, if extended very rapidly, must be performed, in a good degree, by emigrant teachers and missionaries from the United States. Hence the wisdom of the policy of England in now favoring our colony. We can

supply teachers to aid in civilizing Africa. Great Britain cannot, and, disconnected from our colony, she cannot create intelligence and industry, and therefore, *cannot, at present, commence her scheme of extensive tropical cultivation without the aid of Liberia.*

Here, now, we claim, is the solution of the question of England's present liberality towards Liberia. Her own interests and purposes demand an early demonstration of the practicability of employing free labor in opposition to slave labor, on an extensive scale, in tropical Africa. Her own African colonies have been, says McQueen, very injudiciously selected for extending an influence into Africa. But the position of Liberia is much more favorable, and will enable her, perhaps, from the head of the St. Paul's, to reach across the Kong mountains, and grasp the tributaries of the upper Niger, and, connecting the two rivers by rail-road, secure the commerce of the interior to the capital of the Republic, as the cities of New York and Philadelphia have secured that of the Mississippi valley.

England, therefore, at the moment that President Roberts visited London found herself in a position compelling her to a change of policy toward our colony. Liberia at that moment *was the only territory under heaven*, where could be commenced, *immediately*, her darling scheme of *extensive tropical cultivation by free labor*. And Liberia only, of all the territory that might be made available, contained the elements of success,—*intelligence and industry*. Here was England's position and here Liberia's. The old Empire, shaken by powerful rivals, and driven to extremity, was seeking a prop of sufficient strength to support her. The young Republic in the feebleness of infancy was needing a

protector. That secret, unseen, hidden, invincible, and all-controlling Power, which had impelled England onward in her giant efforts to extirpate the slave trade and to abolish slavery, and which had inspired the hearts of American Christians to restore the colored man to Africa, and had watched over and protected the feeble colony until it could assume a national position; that Providence which had made England's crimes of former years, to react upon and embarrass her in all her relations, had now brought, face to face, the Prime Minister of England and the President of the Republic of Liberia. The first, was the representative of that once unscrupulous but powerful government, whose participation in the slave trade, to build up an extensive commerce and to aggrandize herself, had doomed the children of Africa to perpetual bondage; but who was now, *as a consequence of that very slave trade*, compelled to the most powerful exertions for its suppression, to save herself from commercial embarrassment and national decline: the second, was the Executive of a new nation—*himself a descendant of one of the victims of the English slave traders*—seeking the admission of an AFRICAN REPUBLIC into the family of nations. The old Monarchy and the new Republic thus found themselves standing in the relation to each other of mutual dependence—the one, to secure a field for the immediate commencement of her grand experiment of rendering free labor more productive than slave labor, and of creating new markets for her manufactures,—the other, to obtain protection and to offer the products of the labor of the freemen of Liberia to the commerce of the world.

But it may be asked, why Great Britain should be willing to aid Liberia in extending her influence

over Africa, and thus introduce into the world a new nation who, as soon as its eighty millions of people are civilized and stimulated to industry, *can have the preponderance over all the world in tropical productions*, and consequently have the means of acquiring power and influence in the world equal to that of other nations. The solution of this question is not difficult.

The policy of Great Britain, for a long period, caused her to grasp after foreign colonial possessions, and her glory and her strength was believed to be measured by the extent to which she could multiply her foreign dependencies. When her manufacturing interests began to multiply, she found a great stimulus to this branch of her national resources, in the markets furnished by her colonies. The increased commerce thus created, furnished another channel for employment of British capital and enterprise. The multitude of sailors required for the merchant service, were readily transferred to her navy in times of war, and gave her immense power on the ocean. "But the unfortunate attempt of England," says McCulloch, in his statistical account of the British Empire, to compel the American colonists "to contribute toward the revenue of the empire, terminating so disastrously, has led her ever since to renounce all attempts to tax her colonies for any purpose, except that of their own internal government and police." Colonies, therefore, have since been cherished chiefly on account of the outlets they afford to her surplus population; the field they offer to private adventurers for the acquisition of fortunes, to be afterwards transferred to the mother country; the increase they add to her commerce; the markets which they furnish for her manufactures; and the

agricultural or mineral products which they supply, in return, for consumption and use in England,

An opinion, however, is beginning to possess the public mind in England, that the possession of colonies is not of the especial importance to her that they were once considered. The expenditure for their government and defence often outweighs the political and commercial advantages realized from their possession. It is now believed, that her commercial and manufacturing interests can be as well if not better promoted, by a liberal commerce with independent states, than with colonies under her own control. This conviction has been forced upon the English, chiefly by the results which have followed the Independence of the United States. The British government now derives ten times more advantage, says McCULLOCH, from intercourse with the United States, than when she had a Governor in every state, or than she has derived from all her other colonies put together. In a more comprehensive view of British relations, by PORTER, in his *Progress of Nations*, we find it stated, that, in 1837, the exports of Great Britain to the United States amounted to more than half the sum of her shipments to the whole of Europe, while of her entire foreign exports, amounting to \$235,000,000, only one-third was consumed by her colonies.

But as other governments have arisen and attained stability, and encouragement has been afforded by them to home industry, the instinct of *self preservation* has led to the adoption of such restrictive duties as would protect their people, in the infancy of their manufacturing efforts, against the superiority in machinery, capital and skill of older nations. In this way England has been so much restricted, from time

to time, in her commercial operations, that, in 1844, (*Westminster Review*) her exports to the European states, notwithstanding their vast increase of population, were considerably less than they had been forty years ago.

But England has been embarrassed, not only by the restrictive duties of other governments, but many of them are beginning to rival her, in the sale of *manufactures*, in those countries whose markets are still open to foreign competition. This rivalry in manufactures is one of more serious import to Great Britain than even the rivalry which opposes her in tropical productions. *The latter is to her as the arteries, the former the heart.* The truth of this assertion will be seen in the following statements.

The great leading interest of England,—her principal dependence for the maintainance of her power and influence,—is her manufactures. Out of this interest grows her immense commerce, and from her commerce arises her ability to sustain her vast navy, giving to her such a controlling influence in the affairs of the world. "Wealth, civilization, and knowledge, add rapidly and indefinitely to the powers of manufacturing and commercial industry." All these Great Britain possesses in an eminent degree. "It is asserted that the manufactures of England could, in a short time, be made to quadruple their produce—that so vast is the power which the steam engine has added to the means of production in commercial industry, that it is susceptible of almost indefinite and immediate extension—that Manchester and Glasgow could, in a few years, prepare themselves for furnishing muslin and cotton goods to the whole world—that with England the great difficulty always felt is, not to get hands

to keep pace with the demand of the consumers, *but to get a demand to keep pace with the hands employed in the production.*"

With such resources and capabilities, and with such interests involved in their development and extension—interests involving the very existence of the empire—England is not to be easily defeated in her purposes. When restricted or excluded from one market, she speedily seeks or creates another. The intelligence, the enterprise, and the energies, of her subjects, are called forth by government, and made subservient to the promotion of her interests and the extension of her commerce and her power. The desert or savage Islands of the sea; the bulwarks of India, or the walls of China; the frozen regions of the north, or the tropical suns of the south, present few obstacles to her enterprise. Nor need we stop to prove, in detail, that the almost irresistible energies of Great Britain, thus put forth, and embracing in their range all the earth, *find their chief motive power in her desire to extend the sale of her manufactures.* Crush her manufactures, and the throne will soon totter to its fall. But what gives a tenfold interest and importance to her enterprises, is, that wherever she goes, wherever her standard is planted, a *Christian Civilization*, though forming no part of her *design*, almost invariably follows her conquest of, or treaty with, a pagan nation or a savage tribe. The greatness of England, and her consequent necessities, are thus compelling her to the fulfilment of a mission of vast moment to the world; and in its execution she seems likely to be driven from point to point until she completes the earth's circuit. Though she "meaneth not so," yet she may emphatically be called *the great agent for*

the extension of civilization. She is now, it seems, compelled to expend her energies upon Africa, so as to secure to herself the advantages arising from its civilization. Two hundred thousand of her own subjects are now annually emigrating to other countries. This is to England an annual loss of two hundred thousand laborers, whom she cannot profitably employ at home. But were the hordes of barbarians in tropical Africa civilized, and engaged in developing its immense resources, the demand created in the supply of their wants would furnish labor for all unemployed English subjects, and add immensely to the prosperity of Great Britain.

It will now be seen that England is not only interested in encouraging the cultivation of tropical productions by Liberia, as a means of destroying *the slave trade and slavery, and of crippling the energies of her rivals*, but that she is also most deeply interested in securing the markets which Liberia will open up in Africa *for English manufactures.* Tropical Africa can never afford an outlet for European emigration, and can, therefore, be of no importance to England for that purpose. Its commercial advantages can be as well secured in the hands of independent states, as if England had possession of it as colonies. Great Britain, therefore, can, consistently with her policy and her interests, employ her influence and her power in promoting the welfare of Liberia. Nay, more, it will be seen, when all the facts stated are considered, that she is compelled, by her own necessities, to use the most energetic measures for the speedy extension of the influence and the sovereignty of the Republic of Liberia, as the point where she can, at the earliest period, commence her important experiment. Other points hereafter, may,

and no doubt will be speedily made subservient to her purpose, but Liberia is her only present reliance for the commencement of her great work. Civilization is here already introduced, and begins to radiate into the interior, and only needs the necessary aid and time to extend its blessings throughout Africa.

It is true, that England will have rivals, in the sale of her manufactures, in Liberia. She cares but little for that, however, because her facilities for manufacturing are, at present, and must be for years to come, so much superior to that of all other countries, that she can successfully rival them, even in their own markets, when not embarrassed by tariffs. She has taken good care to make the first treaty of commerce and amity with Liberia, and thus stands in the foreground, as the friend of the young Republic.

Now, then, we repeat, without the fear of successful contradiction, that Great Britain finds herself in a position, at this moment, so disadvantageous, both in her relations to tropical cultivation and in the sale of her manufactures, that her only present means of extrication is in the success of Liberia, and that she is, therefore, vitally interested in having the young Republic extend its influence, with all possible rapidity, over the continent of Africa; so as, at the earliest practicable day, to have her eighty millions of naked or half-clothed inhabitants subjected to civilization, stimulated to industry, clothed in British fabrics, and, in return, producing abundantly those tropical products now become absolutely necessary, for the manufactures, the luxuries, and the necessities of life, amongst the civilized nations of the temperate zones. And with such interests involved in the success of Liberia, and with such power and influence enlisted in

her support, humanly speaking, how can our Colonization scheme fail?

But we must hasten to a conclusion of this protracted discussion, and leave many points of additional interest untouched. Indeed nothing but the great importance of the bearings of the questions which have been investigated, can justify the occupation of so much time. The cause of humanity, however, demands that attention shall be given to these topics. Africa has long groaned hopelessly to be delivered from the deluge of woes which has for ages rolled over her. The dawn of her redemption is now appearing. The light of civilization and Christianity has broken forth upon her shores and begins to dispel the gloom of centuries. The slave traders, like so many spirits of darkness, are compelled to limit their hellish labors to districts yet unilluminated by that light. Nothing seems to be wanting to the accomplishment of Africa's redemption but a sufficient increase of the agencies which have already been productive of such rich fruits in Liberia. These agencies are being rapidly called into action. The Providence of God is operating upon the nations, most directly concerned in the question of Africa's future destiny, so as to make it their interest to favor the civilization of the inhabitants of that continent. Great Britain, as already shown, is enlisted by considerations, *commercial and manufacturing*, which she never overlooks, to aid in this great work of philanthropy. She *can* supply unlimited sums of money to stimulate enterprise and industry, and to promote civilization in Africa, and she *will* do it as fast as it can be profitably employed.

The people of France, having achieved their own liberties, soon pronounced the freedom of the slaves in their islands. France did not

wait to calculate the political and commercial considerations involved in emancipation, before she obeyed the dictates of humanity. Herself free, she desired the freedom of the world. Having possession of many important points on the coast of Africa, she will crush the slave trade wherever she has control, and thus greatly aid in its suppression and in the promotion of African civilization. But as she has not, within herself, the command of the agencies necessary to civilize the districts which she owns, she may find herself compelled to call upon the colored people of the United States to commence and carry on the work, and thus promote our colonization enterprise. And as France has already proved herself capable of acts of the greatest magnanimity, we must ask of her one favor, though it may seem, in us, an act of presumption. But as an American Republican, we can appeal to French Republicans. It is of the utmost importance to the Republic of Liberia, that it should have guaranteed to it, by other nations, the right to purchase and annex the whole line of coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Lopez, so that no other power may be allowed to interfere with the extension of its jurisdiction over that region. The Gaboon, now in the possession of France, lies at the southeastern limits of this region, and is one of the most valuable points in Africa. We ask of France, therefore, that she shall offer the Gaboon country, as a free gift, to the free colored people of the United States, upon which to form a new state in connexion with Liberia. And, from the circumstances under which her title to this territory was acquired, during the *Monarchy*, it is believed that the *Republic*, when the subject is presented for its consideration, will yield it for that purpose.

The United States is also deeply interested in the success of Liberia, and is being involved in difficulties and perplexities propelling her onward to a point where she, too, must exert herself in behalf of the young Republic. Commercial and manufacturing interests will influence her, as they have already influenced Great Britain. But in addition to these, other considerations of far deeper import will soon press themselves upon our attention. The rapid increase of our slave population is beginning to alarm the stoutest advocates of the perpetuation of slavery. With their uniform ratio of increase continued, which, it will be remembered, is *three per cent. per annum*, in 50 years, from 1850, the slave population of the United States will number 12,000,000, with an annual increase of 360,000. In 100 years hence, they will have increased to 44,500,000, with an annual increase of 1,300,000. And in 150 years their numbers will be 165,000,000, and the yearly increase 5,000,000.

Now, it is utterly impossible that this number of slaves can be held in bondage, or be profitably employed, by the southern states of our Union, for half the period included in our calculation. But how emancipation is to be ultimately effected, we cannot foretell. This we know, that *it must be done*. The South is becoming aware of the difficulties of the *future of slavery*, and are beginning to look at its appalling consequences. Many states have already legislated to prevent the sale and transfer of the slaves of the more northern states into their bounds, and it would not be unexpected, if, in a few years, the slave holders of the more northern slave states, should be unable to find a market for their surplus slaves. And whenever this event occurs, the masters will soon

be over-supplied with laborers *which they cannot employ profitably*, and emancipation must take place. And when ever this work commences, the work of Colonization to Africa will be greatly increased. Liberia, therefore, is to the southern states, as well as to those of the north, and to the nations of Europe, a point of very great interest. Not one of them scarcely, can carry out their present policy without promoting the interests of our colony. In these facts we find an additional argument for the perpetuity of the Republic of Liberia.

And further, if the scheme of tropical cultivation in Africa, by free labor, can be successfully carried out, at an early day, and of which we entertain but little doubt, the work of emancipation in this country may be forced to a consummation much more rapidly than many suppose. The United States, it must be borne in mind, have not one acre of tropical lands. *Our crops of cotton and sugar, are both liable to blight, by frost, before they are fully matured and secured.* But it is not so in Africa. More than three-fourths of the lands of that vast continent are within the tropics, and secure from the action of frosts. The employment of capital, in tropical cultivation in Africa, would long since have been extended to millions upon millions of dollars, but for the error committed in attempting it by *white men* and amongst *an uncivilized people*. This error is now detected and will not be repeated. The American Colonization Society has, by its efforts, dispelled the doubts and difficulties overhanging the question of African Civilization. Capital, in a few years, can be employed more profitably in Liberia than in the United States. Capital and labor will soon both find their way to Africa, and perhaps in modes

not now anticipated. It is no uncommon occurrence now, for a slave holder, in this country, *to let his slave out on parole*, to earn a fixed price, upon the payment of which to the master, the slave is a freeman. It is very rare, in such cases, that a breach of faith occurs. Now, it may not be long, if the southern market should be closed against the sale of northern slaves, before this system of self-emancipation may be carried out upon a grand scale, *by masters bargaining with their slaves to emigrate to Liberia, there to earn the price of their freedom.* Such an arrangement would add to the amount of free labor products which must come into competition with those of the slave labor of our southern states. In this way Kentucky and Virginia could retaliate, with fearful effect, upon South Carolina and Louisiana.

But, as we hasten to a conclusion, we can only throw out suggestions without waiting to dwell upon them. We are fully aware, that the idea that tropical cultivation in Africa, can seriously affect the value of slave labor in the United States, for centuries to come, will be considered visionary. But we must ask all such doubters to recollect, that commercial revolutions occur almost as suddenly, in this age, as political ones. The world has learned how to achieve great things in a short time. We western men have witnessed such wonders pass before our eyes, that we believe capital and labor, skill and enterprise, can accomplish any thing within the range of human power, and that what formerly required centuries for its consummation, can now be executed in months or years. Born in Ohio, when it was yet comparatively a wilderness, I, myself, have seen it rise to what it now is, and have also seen State after State called rapidly

into existence, in the wilderness of the west, in less than half a century. And yet the sources of this prosperity and this progress are unexhausted and inexhaustible. No limits can be set to this progress but the impassable barriers of the great Pacific.

Give to Liberia intelligent and industrious *emigrants*, and she, too, will advance in prosperity and in greatness. The materials for such an emigration exist in the United States, and our colored men, generally, are only awaiting the evidences of the truth of what is said in Liberia. When convinced *that it is not a trap to enslave them again*, as they have been told, they will move with the heart of one man, as the Israelites of old removed from Egypt to Canaan. The sympathies of our colored men are with England and France. These nations possess their confidence more fully than Americans. England and France are both interested in blessing Africa with civilization. A formal invitation from these two governments, addressed to our free colored people, and asking them to emigrate to Liberia, under their protection and patronage, would enlist tens of thousands to remove at once to the young Republic. These emigrants, being settled at suitable points along the coast, would greatly aid in checking the slave trade, and thus, its risks being much increased, the British capital employed at present in that traffic, *would be withdrawn from Brazil and transferred to Liberia*. A large concentration of capital and labor in Africa, which are both practicable, would soon be felt, in the markets of the world, *by the increased supply of free labor tropical products brought into competition with those of slave labor*. When this event shall occur, as occur it will, a reduction of the value of slave labor must follow; and this together with the rapidly increasing bulk of

the now unwieldy mass of our slave population, must greatly hasten the period of final emancipation.

Now, if the possession of the sovereignty of the soil of tropical Africa, and the control of its products, be of such vast political and commercial importance to such governments as France and England, as their policy towards Africa, heretofore, so fully indicates; we would respectfully enquire of our colored people, whether their possession and control are not of equal importance and value to African men themselves? And, if the monopoly of tropical products once secured to Englishmen an ascendancy among nations; will not the same advantages be of equal importance to African men, and afford to them the means of rising into national greatness and national glory? And, further, if Africa is of such importance to European nations, that they will expend millions of dollars to secure to themselves the advantages of its products and its commerce; what will posterity, what will the world say, of those of our African population, *who refuse to receive such a rich inheritance, though offered to their acceptance as a free gift?* And, again, if the destruction of the slave trade and the abolition of slavery, be matters of such vast moral importance as to call for the united efforts of Christian men, throughout the world, to destroy them; and if these greatest of all modern moral enterprises, inferior only to our purely missionary efforts, cannot be accomplished, but by our Christian colored men forming themselves into a rampart around the African coast: and if colored men can, by engaging in this great moral and religious movement, better their own condition and secure to themselves and their children, and ultimately to the millions of Africa, all the blessings of social, civil, and religious liberty;

why should we not urge them to a fair and candid consideration of the question of returning to Africa as civilized and christianized men, to take peaceful possession of that ancient inheritance from which their uncivilized and pagan forefathers were forcibly torn?

But we shall not further weary your patience. We had designed

presenting an argument for the success of the Republic of Liberia, based upon the innate moral principle existing within her, and growing out of the religious freedom secured to her citizens, and the ample means of religious instruction provided for her people. But we forbear.

Late and interesting from Liberia.

THE following letter from PRESIDENT ROBERTS, contains the latest intelligence which we have received from Liberia, and will deeply interest our readers. None can fail to notice the important influences exerted by colonization for the suppression of the slave trade, and the extension of lawful commerce.

The remarks touching the contentment and happiness of the emigrants by the *Huma*, should stimulate our friends to send in the means necessary to enable us to colonize that family of about 60 slaves from near Murfreesboro, N. C. As the time is now short, may we not hope that the amount will be made up without delay.

We have now received *fourteen hundred dollars* of the \$3,000 required. Surely a sufficient number of persons will read this, who intend to give us each \$100 for this noble purpose, to complete the whole. We earnestly entreat them not to delay.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

Monrovia, Sept. 22, 1849.

DEAR SIR: A few days ago I addressed you, via England, a short note, announcing the arrival of the "*Huma*" at Sinoe, and that the immigrants had all been landed, in good health and fine spirits, and much delighted with their new home and the prospects before them. They are, indeed, as far as I am informed, a fine set of people—industrious and enterprising—and will, no doubt, prove a great acquisition to Sinoe, and Liberia in general—just the kind of people we need.

I had also the pleasure of announcing the purchase of Grand Cape Mount and Manna by this government, and the hope of being able soon to extinguish the slave trade at Gallinas. I have the satisfaction now to in-

form you that the slave trade at Gallinas is on its last legs, in consequence of the strict blockade of that territory by the British squadron, and the rapid extension of our jurisdiction in that quarter. The natives have determined to abandon the traffic in slaves, and the chiefs have actually delivered to Captain Dunlop, of her Majesty's ship "*Alert*," all the slaves that have been collected there for exportation, numbering several hundreds, to be taken to Sierra Leone. The foreign slavers have also taken advantage of Captain Dunlop's kindness, and left the Gallinas in one of her Majesty's vessels for Sierra Leone, having promised Captain Dunlop never again to return for the purpose of engaging in the slave trade.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letters by the *Liberia Packet*, which vessel arrived here on the 18th, all well. Mr. Gurley is now with me, and requests me to present his kindest regards to you, and to say that he would be pleased to send you a line, but cannot now, for the want of time. This goes by the United States ship *Decatur*, via Porto Praya. I will write you fully by the *Packet*. I have not time to add more.

Yours, truly,

J. J. ROBERTS.

Rev. Wm. McLain, *Washington City*.

The above letter was brought by the U. S. sloop-of-war *Decatur*, arrived at Portsmouth, N. H., on the 14th ult.

We learn that at the general election held before the *Decatur* left, J. J. Roberts, Esq., was again elected President of the Republic. There was no election, by the people, of a Vice President; the selection therefore, must be made by the Legislature, which meets this month. It is probable that the present Secretary of State, Mr. Warner, will be elected. The affairs of

the Republic are in a very prosperous condition.

We regret to hear of the death of Dr. J. W. Prout, an old and much esteemed citizen, and a member of the Senate. He was drowned while crossing the bar, off Monrovia, while returning from a vessel at anchor in Messurado Roads, which he had visited to attend the sick.

An officer of the Decatur, in a letter to the Boston Post, says—

"The Republic has a snug man-of-war schooner, carrying a neat little battery, with the word "Liberia" on each gun, all of which was a present from the British government. She was absent on a cruise with Gen. Lewis, the Secretary of the Treasury, who was visiting the national trading establishments along the Liberia shore, which

constitute the main dependence of the Republic for revenue.

"They have a judicious tariff, but have not yet perfected all the necessary arrangements for the collection of duties on imports. Their commerce is beginning to be worth looking after; nor did Great Britain send their popular President and suite home in a magnificent man-of-war for nothing. In proof of which I enclose you a copy of a treaty recently concluded between the parties, showing that while "the Queen, God bless her," has one of her bright eyes on the suppression of the slave trade on the shore, she has the other fixed on the palm oil, ivory, and gold dust of the interior. But I shrewdly suspect that we too shall have a finger in the pie; for I understood that the Rev. R. R. Gurley, the champion of colonization, had arrived at Monrovia before we left, as an Agent from our government, and that he was most favorably received."

[For the African Repository.]

A just tribute to Buchanan.

WE have the pleasure of presenting to our readers, and the admirers of heroic self-consecration to the cause of philanthropy, the following beautiful lines, from the *Poetess of America*. The tribute which it pays to the memory of Buchanan is justly deserved. His name, his deeds, and his praise are interwoven with the very existence of Liberia; and "ages yet unborn" shall hear his worth and revere and cherish his memory.

THE GRAVE OF BUCHANAN.

"As we rambled near the village of Bassa, we came to a secluded spot, under a cluster of trees, near the banks of the Benson, where was a solitary grave. This was no other than that of his Excellency, Thomas Buchanan, the late lamented Governor of Liberia."—*Letter of Rev. J. Rambo, to Elliot Cresson, Esq.*

Whose is yon grave, where branches wave
Of tropic shrub, and tree?
The quiet river flowing near,
In silent majesty?

While dimly seen, the shades between,
A distant village stands,
I ask, whose noteless grave is that,
Scoop'd in the sultry sands?

Then, o'er my soul, a whisper stole
From memory's sacred cell,
And forth a treasured image came
That years had garnered well.—

Unsealed the dark and flashing eye,
Uprose the form of grace,—
Buchanan!—dost thou slumber here
In this sequestered place?

No gushing tear drop marked thy dust,
From a fond Mother's eye,
But suffering Afric mourned for thee
With throes of agony.—

For thee,—who in her pressing need
A hero's might displayed,—
And with a statesman's studious thought
Her early councils swayed.

Oh! earthly fame! it matters not,
The towering fane to rear,—
Or proudly swell the trumpet blast,
For dying crowds to hear,—

And grave a name on marble tomb
 For time to eat away,—
 And cast those motives into shade
 That wait the judgment-day ;—
 For though Benevolence may toil
 Long 'neath the opposing blast ;—

And unrewarded seem to sink
 In martyrdom at last ;—
 Yet shall its holy annal find
 A glorious seal on high,—
 And win the plaudit of the Judge
 Who ruleth earth and sky.

L. H. S.

[For the African Repository.]

Operations in Ohio.

DELAWARE, OHIO,

Oct. 30, 1849.

REV. WM. McLAIN:—I wrote you, a month since, that a severe attack of cholera, confining me to my bed for three weeks, and leaving me too feeble for business for a much longer time, together with the general prevalence of that dreadful scourge throughout the West, had wholly broken up my plans for the summer, and cut off your expected contributions from my field of labor. On resuming my work a few weeks since, I found that I could reach the annual meetings of several religious denominations, and therefore prepared myself with a Memorial for signatures, asking the Ohio Legislature to make an appropriation in behalf of our Society. I have already enclosed you a copy of the Memorial.

Calling first at Dayton, where the *Ohio Methodist Conference* was in session; I obtained the signatures of all the members present, with two exceptions, one only of whom declined on the ground of disapproval of colonization, and he a young minister. A few had obtained leave of absence before an opportunity offered of soliciting their names.

During the same week, I visited the *Synod of Cincinnati*, Old School Presbyterian, holding its session at Springfield; and obtained the unanimous signature of all the members present, excepting two or three elders, who were either sick or had obtained leave of absence. The list of names includes all those ministers of this Synod who have

heretofore been so ardent in the anti-slavery cause.

Last week I attended the *Synod of Cincinnati*, New School Presbyterian, which held its session in Cincinnati, and was introduced by Dr. BEECHER. Without a dissenting voice I was allowed to address them, after which the whole of the members present signed the Memorial, excepting three ministers and one elder.

Hastening to Columbus, I found the *Ohio Baptist annual Convention* in session, and, being introduced, I was allowed to address them. Having stated the facts in relation to the purchase of an *Ohio in Africa*, by our friend Charles McMicken, Esq., they signified their willingness, at the proper time, to second the effort by aiding in planting a missionary in its bounds, and encouraging emigration to it. All the members whom I solicited for their signatures added their names to the Memorial, with one exception. Some six or eight were not applied to for want of time, as I had to hasten to this point.

At Delaware I have met the *Synod of Ohio*, Old School, Presbyterian, and was introduced, and allowed to address them, and state the object of my visit. The ministers present all signed the Memorial, except two, who expressed themselves friendly to colonization, but had scruples in relation to asking Legislative aid for benevolent objects. The elders also signed, excepting those who had leave of absence before the subject was presented.

This Memorial is being put in circulation in most of the counties of the State, for the signatures of our citizens generally. The members of the ecclesiastical bodies applied to, have signed it as citizens of the State, and not in their official capacity. Perhaps I should add, that copies of the *Lecture on Colonization*, of last winter, delivered before the Ohio Legislature, had been mailed to the ministers of these several bodies, the Baptists excepted, and had been generally read by them. On meeting with me they seemed at once prepared to act.

These results afford us much encouragement. There is a growing disposition, among men of prudence and reflection, to separate the colonization cause from the anti-slavery movements. They are willing to do this on account of the vast influence for good which Liberia is exerting upon Africa, and from the conviction that there is but little hope of bestowing a christian civilization upon Africa by any other instrumentality.

I am justified, from assurances given, in believing that the old custom of collections

in behalf of the Colonization Society, can be revived in our churches.

There are many considerations which should call out the efforts and the contributions of christians in behalf of this enterprise. Liberia is a *Christian Republic*, but has to contend with an immense mass of *heathenism* which yet surrounds her. It is believed that the christian element at present existing in Liberia is sufficient for its preservation. But as its boundaries are yearly increasing, and must be still farther extended, if the slave trade is to be suppressed, its safety will demand a proportional increase of christian teachers, and these must be supplied from the United States. The Republic of Hayti has sunk down again into despotism, it is believed, *for the want of sufficient christian principle to sustain her*. Will the christians of the United States permit the Republic of Liberia to fall for the same reason, when it is in their power to supply the means which, with God's blessing, will prevent such a result?

Yours,
DAVID CHRISTY.

African Coffee.

THAT the flavor of Liberia coffee has some resemblance to that of the Mocha, is asserted by all who know the taste of both. It is equally obvious to the careful observer, that a part of the kernels resemble the Mocha in appearance. Noticing this, I had a pound of coffee from Bexley carefully sorted. The smallest and roundest kernels, which were something more than half of the whole, when placed by themselves, looked so much like half a pound of Mocha, that it would require a good judge to see the difference. Perhaps they were, on an average, slightly larger than Mocha generally is. The second variety, which was more than half of the remainder, resembled the first, in color and texture, within and without, but the kernels were larger, longer,

and not so round. The third and last variety was of a lighter color, and the kernels large, resembling very much the Java.

On trial by the palate, after careful cookery by skilful hands, they all proved good: but, in the judgment of every taster, the Mocha flavor was most decided in the first variety, less so in the second, and not distinctly perceptible in the third. Our conclusion was, that the Liberia coffee consists certainly of two varieties, and probably of three; and that the small round kernels are the most valuable.

I would suggest, therefore, that the coffee growers in Liberia examine this matter, and ascertain whether these varieties grow on different trees, or whether they are merely accidental. If it should be found, as I

suspect it will, that they are the produce of different trees, the question will be settled, and they should give the preference to the first variety; for that, well cultivated and prepared, and kept from intermixture with the others, would soon have as good a standing in the market as the Mocha itself.

I am confirmed in this view of the matter, by learning lately, on very high authority, that a very large proportion of the Mocha of commerce is the production of African forests, carried to Mocha in Arabia, and thence distributed over the world. It is indigenous in the little kingdoms of Kaffa,

Enarea and Yangaro, which are in the latitude of Liberia and Sierra Leone, and where several of the eastern tributaries of the Nile have their rise. The coffee is certainly indigenous there, grows wild in the forests, is exported in large quantities to Mocha, and is sold there as Mocha coffee; and the people assert, as a historical fact, that coffee was first introduced into southern Arabia from their country. And as this best kind of coffee is indigenous in eastern Africa, there is no improbability in its being so in the same latitude on the western.

J. TRACY.

That three Thousand Dollars, and sailing of the Liberia Packet.

THE Liberia Packet will sail again for Liberia in about *four weeks* from the date of her arrival (now daily expected) at Baltimore. Emigrants and all interested should be ready to leave by the first of January.

We have not yet received that \$3000 necessary to send the about 60 slaves, left by the will of the late T. Capehart, near Murfreesboro, N. C. We must again appeal to the friends of humanity for speedy aid.

Several names of contributors to this fund will be found among the list of subscribers. Other pledges have been given, and we doubt not that there are many others ready to give liberally to secure this important ob-

ject. It is not often that a case is presented which appeals so strongly to the philanthropic. Shall it appeal in vain!

The most of those who have already contributed, have authorized us to use their donations in sending out some other emigrants, if we do not succeed in raising the amount necessary to send these. Others have made their donations contingent on our securing the whole amount required. Here then is another strong motive. The giver of a single \$100 now may be the means of securing several hundred!

Who can resist a call like this and sleep quietly the succeeding night?

Donations

Received at the office of the New York State Colonization Society, from Aug. 1st, to Oct. 31st, 1849.

Aug. 17..New York City—Collection in Rev. F. F. Cornell's Church.....	6 60	Oct. 6..“A friend” per P. Amerman.....	100 00
“ 21..Part col. in Forsyth st. Meth. Ch. Rev. J. W. B. Wood, Pastor, \$10, Part collection in Rev. Dr. Pott's Church.....	15 00	“ 15..Daniel Trimble, for slave Dickinson, \$5, Jos. Lawrence, for do. \$5....	10 00
Sept. 14..“G. J.”.....	10 00	“ 16..Two friends of the cause, for do.....	8 00
“ 21..Miss Winefred Post..	50 00	“ 24..Friend for do.....	1 00
“ 22..Part collection in Rev. Mr. Wood's Church....	1 00	Aug. 4..Chester, N. Y.—Col. in Rev. J. W. Wood's Ch. viz: Miss Susan Board, to constitute a Life Mem. \$30, Miss Phebe Board,	
Oct. 2..Cash.....	500 00		

	to constitute a Life Mem.	\$5	15 00
	\$30, James Durland, \$1,		
	Chas. B. Howel, M. D.		
	\$1, Wm. Masterson, \$1.	63 00	
Aug.	7..Piermont—Col. in R.		
	D. Ch., Rev. D. Lord,		
	Pastor, \$13 68. Amster-		
	dam—Col. in Pres. Ch.		
	Rev. Mr. Goodale, \$20..	33 68	
"	10..Auburn—"A friend,"		
	by W. A. Booth.....	10 00	
"	11..Albany—Col. in Dr.		
	Sprague's Church.....	78 16	
"	15..Stockbridge, Mass. Col.		
	in Cong. Church.....	10 76	
"	16..Buffalo—Jesse Ketch-		
	um, \$10, do. \$10, (Oct.)		
	Walton—Wm. Townsend,		
	\$100.....	120 00	
"	17..Pompey Centre—Rev.		
	J. C. Smith.....	1 00	
"	20..Walden—Col. in St.		
	Andrew's Ch. Rev. W.		
	H. Hart, Rector, \$3 25.		
	Kingsboro—Mrs. Amelia		
	Potter, Chas. Mills, S. G.		
	Hildreth, U. M. Place,		
	each \$10, Luther Potter,		
	Rev. E. Yale, each \$5, J.		
	Gibbs, \$2, P. Caugh, and		
	E. Leonard, each \$1....	57 25	
"	22..Gilboa—Col. in R. D.		
	Church, Rev. H. S. Van		
	Dyke, Pastor, \$9. Kings-		
	ton—Col. in R. D. Ch.		
	Rev. Mr. Hoes, Pastor,		
	\$20 75.....	29 75	
Sept.	1..Ithaca—Col. in R.D.Ch.,		
	Rev. Mr. Henry, Pastor,	15 00	
	Utica—Mrs. Cath. H. Wil-		
	liams, \$50, Wm. Tracy,		
	Esq., Mrs. S. T. Bagg, S.		
	Y. Childs, esq., Mrs. Rach.		
	Tracy, each \$10, Wm. J.		
	Bacon, Esq., Mrs. Jno.		
	Williams, T. E. Clark,		
	Esq., Wm. Bristol, Esq.,		
	each \$5, A. Churchill,		
	\$5 50, Col. at Lecture,		
	\$6, J. H. Wood, Mrs.		
	Orson, each \$3, Mr. Dut-		
	ton, Miss C. Derbyshire,		
	each \$2, E. S. Brayton,		
	Rev. Mr. Ely, Cash, ea. \$1.	134 50	
	Owego—Rev. A. J. Dana,	5 00	
	Rome—Edward Hunting-		
	ton, Cash, B. H. Wright,		
	each \$50, John Stryker,		
	\$20, J. W. Crane, W.		
	W. Nellis, C. Comstock,		
	each \$5, S. O. Scudder,		
	J. Hathaway, J. S. Har-		
	vvey, each \$1.....	188 00	
	Syracuse—Alfred Cobb,		
	\$10, Nathan Cobb, \$5.		
Sept.	14..Schuylerville—R. D.		
	Ch., Rev. Mr. Chester..	13 34	
"	21..Germantown—Col. in		
	R. D. Ch., Rev. J. Boyd,		
	Pastor, \$4, Rev. J. Boyd,		
	\$1.....	5 00	
"	26..Caledonia—Pres. Ch.,	10 00	
Oct.	2..Berne—Col. R. D. Ch.		
	Rev. Wm. Demerest, Pas-		
	tor.....	8 65	
"	6..Rutland, Vt.—Dr. Joel		
	Green.....	100 00	
"	12..Middletown, Ct.—Friend		
	of the cause.....	6 00	
"	17..Catskill—Wm. Chura-		
	man, per Dr. DeWitt...	5 00	
"	19..Albany—Col. in Rev.		
	Dr. Wyckoff's Ch. \$32 05.		
	Tribes Hill—Col. in Rev.		
	A. W. Hull's Ch. \$3....	35 05	
"	22..Syracuse—Rev. E. Lea-		
	venworth, \$5, A friend,		
	\$1.....	6 00	
"	23..Heneoye—Jesse Stev-		
	ens, jr.....	3 00	
"	25..Lewiston Falls—A friend		
	for slave Dickinson.....	2 00	
"	26..Litchfield, Ct.—A friend,	20 00	
"	29..Tarrytown—Col. Meth.		
	Ch. after Lecture.....	14 00	
Sept.	28..Blawenburgh, N. J.—		
	R. D. Ch., Rev. T. Ro-		
	mane, Pastor.....	10 20	
Oct.	19..Amwell, N. J.—Col.		
	in United 1st and 2d D.		
	R. Churches, Rev. J.		
	Kirkpatrick, Pastor....	20 00	
"	26..Shrewsbury, N. J.—		
	From a friend, for slave		
	Dickinson.....	2 00	
		1,690 94	
	For do., in letter.....	1 00	
		1,691 94	
	NOAH SHELDON:		
Sept.	21..Great Barrington, Mass.		
	per N. Sheldon, Agent,		
	Miss Kellogg, \$10, Col.		
	Ives, \$2, Mark Rosseter,		
	B. W. Pattison, Judge		
	Loop, O. W. Hopkins, Mrs.		
	Ives, Rev. Mr. Dennison,		
	each \$1, Dea. F. Whiting,		
	G. L. Granger, ea. 50 cts.	19 00	
	Lee, Mass.—Wm. Porter,		
	Henry Smith, Joel Brad-		
	ley, Thatcher & Inger-		
	soll, Dr. H. Bartlet, each		
	\$1, L. L. Mills, Cash, T.		
	D. Thatcher, each 50 cts.		
	Cash, 24 cts.....	6 74	
		25 74	</

D. MEAD:

Aug. 11.	Bloomfield, N. J.—Col. in Pres. Ch., Rev. Geo. Duffield, Pastor, \$34 16. Perth Amboy—Col. in Pres. Ch. Rev. B. Cary, Pastor, \$20. Newark—D. Colton, jr., \$10, J. P. Bradley, \$5.....	69 16
" 14.	Westfield—Col. Pres. Ch. Rev. J. M. Hunting, Pastor.....	12 87
" 22.	Jersey City—Wm. Savery.....	30 00
Oct. 22.	Westfield—Rev. J. M. Hunting, (don.).....	5 00
		117 03

Receipts for African Repository.

Aug. 17.	Rev. J. C. Smith.....	1 00
Sept. 1.	Jesse Armstrong.....	1 00
" 18.	S. K. Stow.....	1 00
" 21.	A. Hyde.....	1 00
" 21.	S. Bradley.....	2 00
" 21.	E. R. Bradley.....	1 50
		\$7 50

Recapitulation.

Donation in Office.....	1,691 94
" New Jersey, direct..	32 20
" New Jersey, per Rev. D. Mead, Agent...	117 03
" per Rev. N. Sheldon.	25 74
African Repository.....	7 50
Total.....	\$1,874 21

Receipts

For the Pennsylvania Col. Society, at their Office, from October 15th to November 15th, 1849.

Receipts at Office.

John Brewster, Esq., of Shireysburg, Pa., donation per Henry Brewster, Esq.....	60 00
Hon. Edward Coles, to constitute his son, Roberts Coles, a life member P. C. S.....	50 00
"A Friend to the Cause," donation.....	20 00
Christian Schrack, Esq., annual subscription for 1849.....	5 00
Mrs. Hoyt, of Wilkesbarre, donation through Rev. J. J. Porter, per Dr. J. L. Day.....	50
Cash for Publications.....	15 31
Total.....	150 81

Receipts for the Colonization Herald.

Charles F. Kluge, \$5, J. Phelan, \$5, Joseph Weaver, \$4, Margaret Parke, \$1.....	15 00
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Per Wm. Coppinger, Collector.

Benj. Esler, \$4, Miss E. Wilson, \$3, H. M. Zollickofer, \$3, M.	
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B. Mahony, \$3, G. M. Elkinton, \$3, B. W. Richards, \$2, R. B. Potter, \$2, F. V. Krug, \$2, Paul T. Jones, \$2, J. V. Cowell, \$2, J. B. Trevor, \$2, Isaac C. Jones, \$2, Jos. Cabot, \$2, Mrs. S. Peter, \$2, Israel Morris, \$2, T. A. Budd, \$2, B. W. Chase, \$2, Dr. J. M. Allen, \$2, S. H. Traquair, \$2, John Roset, \$1, E. Whelan, \$1, James Yocom, \$1, John McArthur, \$1, Wm. Duncan, \$1, H. Catherwood, \$1.....	50 00
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Total..... 65 00

Recapitulation.

Receipts at Office.....	150 81
Receipts for the Col. Herald.....	65 00
Total.....	\$215 81

NOTE.—The Rev. Mr. May's collections will be published in our next month's issue.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society;

From the 20th of October, to the 20th of November, 1849.

MAINE.

Norridgewock—Calvin Selden, Esq.	3 50
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VERMONT.

Montpelier—From the Vt. Colonization Society, sundry donations, by Daniel Baldwin, Esq., Treasurer—J. Hawes, J. Y. Vail, Geo. Worthington, Saml. Gass, Rev. G. B. Mansur, each \$1.....	5 00
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St. Johnsbury—J. P. Fairbanks, T. Fairbanks, each \$25, Horace Fairbanks, \$5, S. G. Bracket, Hiram Knapp, each \$3, Wm. Sanborn, C. Jewett, each \$1, E. Jewett, \$2, W. P. Pierce, 50 cents.....	65 50
Craftsbury—S. C. Crafts.....	1 00
Chelsea—Judge Hebbard.....	2 00
Hartford—Mrs. M. G. Strong...	2 00

<i>New Haven</i> —Hon. Wm. Nash, in part, to constitute himself a life member of the A. C. S....	15 00	<i>S. R. Wynkoop's Ch.</i> , \$11 66, Hanover Street, (Rev. J. E. Rockwell's,) \$51 42, Cash by a Friend, \$10.....	73 08
<i>Brookfield</i> —Simon Cotton, Esq., Capt. Amos Edson, each \$3, Elisha Allis, Esq., Reub. Peck, Esq., Luther Wheatley, Esq., each \$2, Part of a legacy of the late Mr. Zelotes Bigelow, \$1, Capt. J. S. Allen, Mr. John Bigelow, Mr. David Bigelow, Mr. Jerah Edson, each \$1, Mr. Lemuel Pope, Homer Hatch, Esq., Rev. D. Wilde, Mr. J. W. Hopkins, Dea. P. Kellogg, Col. Nath. Wheatley, Elias Smith, Esq., Mrs. Jemima Freeman, Waldo W. Ingalls, Esq., Hon. Ariel Burnham, Miss Marind Wheatley, Mrs. Hulda Wilde, Mr. Andrew Wheatley, Capt. Salmon Edson, each 50 cents, Mrs. Mariah Merrill, Mr. J. C. Wheatley, Mrs. Julia Griswold, Dea. Wm. Wells, Marshall Edson, each 50 cents.	25 25	<i>New Castle</i> —Collection in the Presbyterian Church.....	50 00
	115 75		123 08
MASSACHUSETTS.		MARYLAND.	
<i>Westfield</i> —E. G. Talmadge, Esq.	2 00	<i>Montgomery Co.</i> —Rev. R. A. Smith,	2 00
<i>Williamsburgh</i> —Dr. Daniel Collins.....	9 00	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.	
<i>Boston</i> —H. R. Coburn, Esq., toward the \$3,000, on the plan of the Alabama gentleman, to send the "Capehart slaves" to Liberia,	100 00	By Rev. J. N. Danforth:	
	111 00	<i>Washington City</i> —Donation from J. W. M., \$25, Rev. John C. Smith, \$2, Jacob Gideon, Esq., \$2.....	29 00
CONNECTICUT.		VIRGINIA.	
<i>Hartford</i> —Mrs. L. H. Sigourney, "NEW YORK.	5 00	<i>Triadelphia</i> —Mrs. Mary Brown,	10 00
<i>Auburn</i> —From Mrs. "H." toward the \$3,000, on the plan of the Alabama gentleman, to send the "Capehart slaves" to Liberia.....	100 00	<i>Richmond</i> —Thomas Rutherford, Esq., toward the \$3,000, on the plan of the Alabama gentleman, to send the "Capehart slaves" to Liberia.....	100 00
PENNSYLVANIA.			110 00
<i>Easton</i> —John Cooper, M. D., Rev. John Vanderveer, ea. \$50, toward the \$3,000, on the plan of the Alabama gentleman, to send the "Capehart slaves" to Liberia.....	100 00	OHIO.	
<i>Pittsburgh</i> —Thomas Hanna, Esq. toward the \$3,000, on the plan of the Alabama gentleman, to send the "Capehart slaves" to Liberia.....	100 00	<i>Cincinnati</i> —Donation from the Hon. J. Burnet, toward the \$3,000, on the plan of the Alabama gentleman, to send the "Capehart slaves" to Liberia,	500 00
	200 00	Total Contributions....	\$1,299 33
DELAWARE.		FOR REPOSITORY.	
By Rev. J. N. Danforth:		MAINE.— <i>Brewer</i> —Joshua Chamberlain, to Nov. 1850, \$1. <i>Norridgewock</i> —Calvin Selden, Esq. to Feb. 1848, \$16 50.....	17 50
<i>Wilmington</i> —Collection in Rev.		MASSACHUSETTS.— <i>Westfield</i> —E. G. Talmadge, Esq., for 1849, \$1. <i>Medway</i> —Abijah R. Wheeler, Esq., to Nov. 1849, \$3. <i>Auburn</i> —Thomas & J. S. Merriam, to July, 1850, \$1 50. <i>Randolph</i> —Joseph Leeds, to July, 1850, \$1. <i>Williamsburgh</i> —Dr. Daniel Collins, for 1849, \$1....	7 50
		MARYLAND.— <i>Baltimore</i> —E. P. Barrows, Esq., to July, 1851,	10 00
		ILLINOIS.— <i>Waverly</i> —Rev. E. Jenney, for 1848-49, \$3. <i>Petersburgh</i> —Rev. John Barclay, to Dec. 1849, \$1.....	4 00
		IOWA.— <i>Iowa City</i> —F. Reyno, to Sept. 1850.....	1 00
		Total Repository.....	39 00
		Total Contributions.....	1,299 33
		Aggregate Amount....	\$1,338 33

Next Vessel for Liberia.

THE Liberia Packet will sail from Norfolk for Liberia about December 1st.

Vessel from Savannah.

A vessel will sail from Savannah the 1st day of February next, if nothing unforeseen prevents.

Vessel from New Orleans.

WE shall send a vessel from New Orleans to accommodate the emigrants in the southwestern States, as soon as our funds will justify.

An Agent wanted for Georgia.

WE are anxious to engage the services of a first-rate man, who can devote his whole time and energy to the work.

In the mean time, all communications respecting the interest of colonization, and applicants for emigration, should be made directly to the Secretary of the Society, Rev. W. McLain, in this city.

An Agent wanted for North Carolina.

WE also want a good man to take the agency in North Carolina.

An Agent wanted in Louisiana and Mississippi.

THERE is no Agent in these two important States. They have usually given us large sums : but this year we have scarcely any thing.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THE next Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society will be held in this City on Tuesday the 15th of January, 1850, at 7 o'clock, P. M. The Board of Directors will meet the same day at 12 o'clock, M. — Auxiliary Societies will please appoint Delegates. Life Directors are requested to be present.

TO AGENTS, AUXILIARY SOCIETIES, AND OTHERS.

SEVERAL large payments for the Expeditions sent out this year come due this month. Our friends will confer a favor by sending forward their funds as fast as possible. Clergymen who have not yet taken up a collection, will greatly aid us by doing it without delay.

Several large families want to go to Liberia in the Packet, about 1st December next. But where are the funds to come from? We must look to our friends for an answer.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR LAST YEAR.

It will greatly advance our operations if subscribers who have not paid their subscriptions for the year that has just closed, will remit us the amount through the Post Office.

To all who will send us THREE DOLLARS we will send a receipt *in full and free of postage*, for the years 1847 and 1848.

TERMS OF THE REPOSITORY.

THE African Repository will hereafter be issued regularly on the 1st of every month, from this city, at \$1 per annum, payable in advance. The work is now owned by the American Colonization Society. The profits are wholly devoted to the cause of Colonization.

The African Repository is sent gratuitously—

To every Auxiliary Society which makes an annual remittance to the American Colonization Society.

To every clergyman who takes up annually a collection to aid the American Colonization Society.

To every person obtaining three new subscribers, and remitting the money.

To every individual who contributes annually ten dollars or more, to the funds of the American Colonization Society.

To every life member of the American Colonization Society.

Clergymen who have taken collections in their churches the past year, but who have not received the Repository, will please forward their names and their residences.

Persons who wish to discontinue the Repository, are requested to give the town, county, and State, in which they reside.

Officers of Auxiliary Societies will please act as agents in receiving subscriptions to the Repository, and forward subscribers' names, and the money received, by mail, through their Postmaster.

Secretaries of Auxiliary Societies will please forward their names and residences, that they may be furnished with such documents and papers as may be on hand for distribution.

The payment of thirty dollars constitutes a person a life member of the American Colonization Society, and entitles him to a certificate of life-membership.

Persons who have not received certificates of life-membership to which they are entitled, will please give information by mail.

